1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans- 633 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from 494 Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway 496 which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line 633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities, 369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in 291 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark 142 Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in 633 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages) 495 161

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer.

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together.

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide.

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[P. 155]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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An old cult priestess

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The "beauty parlor," Vila Recôncavo

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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1. Mulatto cowboy of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 18]

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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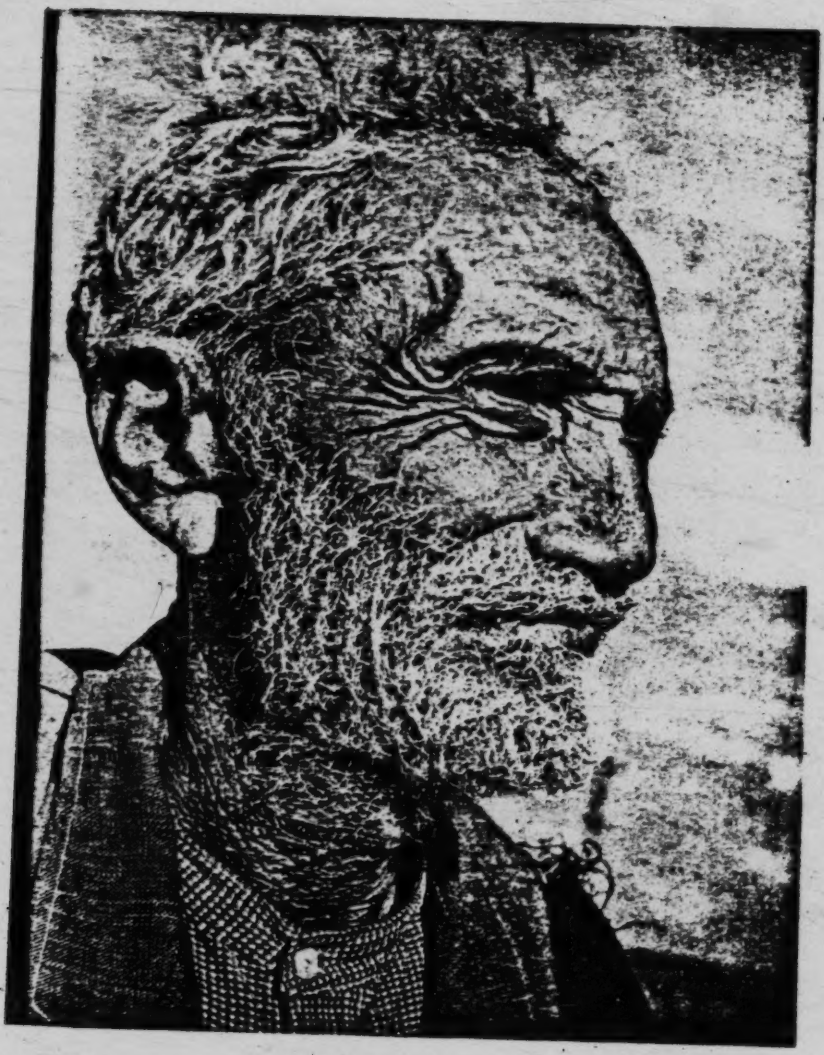
[facing p. 19]

2. Cabocla of the interior of Bahia

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



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3. Caboclo of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 42]

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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4. A black cowboy of the Sertão

[facing P. 43]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

Short of a racial census, an adequate statistical statement of the racial composition of Bahia would probably require an extended sampling of the population in various parts of the city—a procedure not feasible under the limits of this study. Samples readily obtainable at the numerous festivals such as Segunda Feira do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, the Vespers of Reis, etc., are not practical for the reason that participation of one or another of the ethnic components is ordinarily out of proportion to its size in the general population. But at Carnival, when nearly the entire population frequents the public thoroughfares, this difficulty disappears. A new obstacle arises, however, in the form of a considerable infiltration of population from surrounding areas. And since the whites are ordinarily from the upper-income groups and consequently more able to travel, the white percentage of the city's population is probably at that time swollen beyond its normal proportion. The "Micarêta," or second Carnival, held one week after Easter, avoids this latter disadvantage. Of five thousand people noted among the participants in the "Micarêta" for 1936, the racial percentages appeared to be those given in Table 5.

Thus one can perhaps confirm the common-sense judgment of Bahian citizens to the effect that at least half, and perhaps more, of the population is now noticeably mixed, that both biologically "pure" whites (but not "whites" in the social sense) and biologically "pure" Africans are relatively few in number.

Some notion of the change in physical characteristics by generations, at least among members of the lower classes, may be had from a study of five hundred cases of mothers and their offspring applying at Bahia's free children's

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

clinic.[47] The offspring of 221 black and 200[48] mulatto mothers appeared to vary from their mothers as indicated in Table 6.

Since cases in which only obvious variations appeared were recorded as differing, the data would indicate a rather noticeable variation by generations. At least this is true in so far as mothers are concerned. Accurate information on fathers is difficult to obtain, since, in the section of the popu-

TABLE 5

ETHNIC ORIGIN (AS DETERMINED BY INSPECTION) OF FIVE THOUSAND PARTICIPANTS IN THE "MICARÊTA" FESTIVAL, BAHIA, 1936

Racial Identity	Number	Per Cent
European	1,585	31.7
Negro	900	18.0
Mulatto	2,495	49.9
*Cafuso**	20	0.4
Total	5,000	100.0

* The term *cafuso* is employed to designate an individual of mixed Indian and Negro descent.

lation whence these cases come, one finds extensive cohabitation without formal marriage, either civil or religious.

So widespread has the dispersion of African blood in the predominantly European group now become that relatively few families in Bahia are of undiluted European origin, without African strain somewhere in the lineage. This mixture of the races in Bahia is in some respects similar to the

[47] Since pigmentation, it is presumed by local physicians, does not become "fixed" until approximately six months after birth, children under one year were eliminated from the tally.

[48] Seventy-nine children were white of white mothers.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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mixture of the nationalities in the United States, where old families of pure English descent have for some time been mingling their blood with that of Germans, Scandinavians, Slavs, and the Mediterranean peoples. "Even if one marries a person who does not himself possess some African blood," said a young lady of the upper class, "this same individual

TABLE 6

VARIATION IN PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN CHILDREN AND THEIR MOTHERS,* BAHIA, 1936

[162]
[142]•

CHILD	MOTHER			
	Black		Mulatto	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Color lighter, hair "straighter"	55	24.9	45	22.5
Color lighter	12	5.4	34	17.0
Hair "straighter"	12	5.4	20	10.0
Color lighter, hair more kinky	0	0.0	2	1.0
Color darker, hair "straighter"	0	0.0	1	0.5
Color darker	0	0.0	3	1.5
Hair more kinky	0	0.0	3	1.5
Color darker, hair more kinky	0	0.0	1	0.5
No noticeable variation	142	64.3	91	45.5
Total	221	100.0	200	100.0

* As determined by inspection.

will have cousins or other relatives of African descent. Somewhere there will be a connection."

"It is very hard to say a man doesn't have some Negro blood coming from somewhere in his recent or remote past," said a prominent *branco* lawyer and politician. "Take myself, for instance. I can't say for certain that my grandparents didn't have African connections. 'Quando não vem de perto, vem de longe' ['If it isn't close, it's distant']."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tuted marriages or otherwise, extends personal relations to the point where they inhibit the rise of caste prejudice. Natural ties, personal and familial, grow up to cement with common bonds of sentiment individuals from both racial stocks.

"Racial intermixture has had a long history, a history older than civilization itself," commented Theodoro Sampaio, a prominent Bahian mixed-blood.

> Wherever the conquering Romans went, mixture occurred. Spain and Portugal for centuries interbred with the Moors; Italy, Greece, and the Mediterranean isles, all early mingled their blood with that of Africa. In Crete—that old center of ancient civilization—are statues of men with crinkly (*crespo*) hair. The Gothic hordes which overran Europe as the Roman Empire was crumbling were themselves much mixed; and wherever they went they added their blood to that of the peoples whom they conquered. Race-crossing is obviously no new thing; it has been common the world over wherever races have come together. How natural, then, that Brazil should blend her races into one, and that we Brazilians should become *one* people.

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Among the mixed-bloods there is still a wide range of variation in physical type. The distribution, however, is probably skewed toward the Caucasian pole. Indian traits have virtually disappeared, the native element having been almost completely absorbed into the predominantly European population. The occasional traces of Indian characters which are still discernible are usually found in combination with Negro characters and are probably a consequence of the recent migration into the city from the *sertão* of predominantly negroid individuals of partial Indian descent.

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To designate some of the intermediate types which extensive intermixture has now produced, a number of popular expressions have arisen. These terms describe the variations more accurately than do the official categories. The latter, as we have seen, are limited to three: *branco*, *preto*, and

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

563 *pardo;* but common speech adds *cabra* (or *caibra*), *Cabo Verde* 142 (*Cape Verde*), *sarará*, and *moreno*.
826 The *cabra*, or *caibra*, is slightly lighter in pigmentation than the *preto* and has hair a little less kinky. The *Cabo Verde* is very dark, with Caucasian features and black, glossy, "straight" hair. The infrequent *sarará* is light in color, with hair red (or sandy) and kinky. The *moreno*, many Bahians say, is the new physical type which Brazil is developing.

563 Quite significantly, the *morena* (or feminine *moreno*) is
142 the "ideal type" of Bahian femininity. She is in many cases
826 an individual of remarkable beauty. Typically, she has
832 dark-brown eyes and dark hair, quite wavy, perhaps even curly, and Caucasian features; her color is *café com leite* (literally, "coffee with milk"; i.e., like that of one "heavily tanned"), and she has a healthy appearance. The term *morena* is seldom mentioned to a Bahian male without there appearing an instant change in his expression. His face "lights up," and a smile breaks on his lips. He pronounces *morena* with a tone indicative of admiration, affection, desire.[50] He seems pleased, happy in the contemplation of an agreeable object. Poets, both professional and amateur, pour out passionate stanzas in her honor,[51] songs are sung

[50] The *morena* has the reputation of being more desirable than lighter Brazilian women; she is commonly described as "more *ardente*" (passionate), "more *adstringente*" (clinging).

[539] [51] As, for example, the following:

Elsa . . . .
Number One girl,
Pretty little "paca" [small Brazilian animal]
Cabocho-colored butterfly,
Splendidly "morena." . . . .

I danced the "catêrêtê" samba with Elsa,
Her warm flesh quivering,
Her breasts full, almost exploding,
Inside her little white blouse.

And then she fell into my arms willingly, voluptuously,
Her eyes like burning coals,
Her ruby lips
Glued to mine in delirious pleasure.

Ah! Ah! mad girl!
"Bamba" girl!
Devilish girl!

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

to her,[52] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[52] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branca* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *morenínha*, do not rent all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

Often,
When you pass by,

[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *moreninha*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Although caste still persists and serves in a way to regulate race relations, many things—education, the rise within the Negro community of a professional class (teachers, ministers, and physicians) and of an intelligentsia, seeking to organize and direct the Negro's rising race consciousness—have conspired not merely to undermine the traditional caste system but to render it obsolete.

Meanwhile, the slow but steady advance of the Negro, as a result of a competition within and without the group, and the gradual rise of a Negro society within the limits of the white man's world have changed the whole structure of race relations in the United States, both in the North and in the South.

The restrictions on intermarriage still persist and continue to make of the Negro an endogamous social group, in much the same sense that the Jews, the Mennonites, and any of the more primitive religious sects are endogamous. On the other hand, in view of the fact that he has developed a society in which all the professions and many, if not most, occupations are represented, the Negro has an opportunity now, which he did not have earlier, to rise within the limits of the Negro world. Under those circumstances the Negro group has gradually ceased to exhibit the characteristics of a caste and has assumed rather the character of a racial or national minority.[14]

With the Negro in Brazil endogamy is far from absolute, breaking down particularly along the biological borders of the race, probably increasingly, with the passage of time and the continued rise of individuals from the inferior status group. The scale of race distinctions, including the Negro at the bottom and the white at the top, seems to correspond in a general way to the scale of color distinctions *within the Negro minority* in the United States.

Although color and negroid features are still indicative of slave origin and still tend to be closely identified with low status and hence to constitute a considerable handicap to marriage into the upper classes, these characteristics lose their limiting and restrictive character in proportion as the

[14] Introduction to Doyle, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi–xxii.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL1
East Brazil SN1

degree of European intermixture increases or their symbolic reference is called into question by evidence of status-enhancing qualities in a given individual. Similarly, personal competence or individual achievement admit persons possessing considerable color into such status-symbolizing institutions as exclusive clubs. Race consciousness is at a minimum, "passing" has no point, and the circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man." The organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence rather than of racial descent.

The racial situation at Bahia probably is, in a general way, typical of all Brazil. At the same time a considerable immigration of Europeans during the past century into the southern Brazilian states, especially São Paulo, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul, and the gradual development of an industrial society in São Paulo, may have modified somewhat the attitudes formerly prevailing in these areas. A Bahian mixed-blood recently returned from Rio Grande do Sul with the statement that he had there been referred to as a "Negro" and had otherwise felt uncomfortable distinctions to which in Bahia he had been unaccustomed. That there is some prejudice in the cosmopolitan city of Rio de Janeiro is attested by the organization in 1935 of O Movimento Brasileiro Contra o Preconceito Racial ("The Brazilian Movement against Race Prejudice"), sponsored by the prominent intellectuals, Arthur Ramos and Roquette Pinto. In São Paulo, the organization in 1924 of a Negro journal, *O Clarim d'Alvorada*, and later of others like *A Chibata*, *Cultura*, *O Clarim*, and *A Voz da Raça* ("The Voice of the Race"); of several Negro clubs for recreational and

5: Azevedo--19 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.

5: Azevedo--20 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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At the University

5: Azevedo--42 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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3. At the bedside of a sick person.

5: Azevedo--43 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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4. Woman doctor from Salvador.

5: Azevedo--64 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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5. Mixture of races in Bahia.

5: Azevedo--65 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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6. The Black at work.

5: Azevedo--84 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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7. Black painter.

5: Azevedo--85 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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8. Composers of music.

5: Azevedo--105 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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9. Black artist.

5: Azevedo--106 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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10. A colored artisan.

5: Azevedo--128 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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11. A "mae de santo."

5: Azevedo--129 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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12. Brotherhood of Blacks.